

A

SECOND LETTER

FROM

WILTSHIRE

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TO THE

A

MONITOR,

On the VINDICATION

OF HIS

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

*Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?*HORACE.

LONDON,

Sold by S. HOOPER, near the *New Church*, in
the *Strand*, where may be had the first Letter.

M DCC LIX.

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SECOND LETTER

FROM

WILLIAM





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WILTSHIRE to the Mo-
nitor on the Vindication of
his constitutional Principles.

18 March, 1749.

S I R,



HE Gentleman, whose Letter,
directed to You from Calme in
Wiltshire, was published last
Week, under the Title of THE
HONEST GRIEF OF A TORY, has employ-
ed me to acknowledge the receipt of Yours,
dated last Saturday. He bids me say, that
he applied to you, for Arguments to justify
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the Conduct of a Party, many of whom he personally loves, and with whom he had been almost forty Years connected in the same political Principles and Opinions. He would have gladly seen them justified in their late total Change of Sentiments with regard to Hanover alone; for in all other Instances, he was willing to concur with them, although some times against his Judgement.

THE Club, of which he did me the Honour to call me Chaplain, and of which he had long been President, was founded upon private Friendship, and, as we thought, upon publick Virtue. It is now dissolved, and the good old Gentleman is determined never to enter into personal Contests, and Disputes, or engage again in any Party, whatever its Professions may be of Sincerity and Honour. At the next Election he
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proposes publickly to maintain the Integrity of his own Character and Conduct.

HE desires me to be more particular. You have charged him with a false Quotation from your Correspondent's Letter, and he has Candour enough to acknowledge the Justice of the Charge, when considered according to the technical Custom among Authors, of supposing any Passage to be the very Words of the Writer, from whom it is quoted, if it be printed in Italicks. He confesses, he was more attentive to the sense of your Correspondent's Letter, than to the Words of any particular Sentence. If he hath wronged him in this Kind, neither his Ignorance, nor Inattention to Forms of printing, should plead his Excuse.

PERMIT him then to ask, whether the Simile, or any Part of it, was ever conside-

red as a Libel on this Country? The Spirit, or, if you please, the Malignity of it, seems to have been aimed at the Tories, who are indeed ridiculous, and have been finely fooled into the Support of those very Measures, they had so long, and so vigorously opposed.

Your Correspondent himself considers the Simile, as a Libel on the *blessed Spirit of Union* between the Tories and the Minister. From thence he asks, *Could you believe now, Mr. Monitor, that there existed an Englishman, who lamented that blessed Spirit of Union, &c.* The following Paragraph begins, *Is there a Man then, an Englishman I mean, so very trifling, or so very factious and corrupt, as to think, such a Union, and such Men, the fit and proper Subject of publick Ridicule? Yet the following Piece ——— proves to you,*

you, that there is such a Man. Then follows, though not immediately, yet within a few Lines, *Pray, MR. MONITOR, give this worthy Man the Satisfaction of seeing his Simile made still more publick in your Paper. Let all England see his Work: 'tis pity they could not see the Author too standing ——— where he ought to stand. I cannot help thinking, that he would make a pretty Companion to the famous Dr. Sh——re; nor does it seem unfit, THAT HE, WHO LIBELS HIS KING, AND HE, WHO LIBELS HIS COUNTRY SHOULD SHARE THE SAME FATE.*

THIS is the first Mention of the Word *Country*, a Word too often abused and misapplied! I mean the first in the whole Letter, with regard to the Simile; nor can the Context, with any Regularity of Thinking, bear any other Conclusion, than,

than, that he, who libels his King, and he, who libels the MINISTER and his Tories, should share the same Fate.

THIS Deduction of reasoning, Sir, is a better Proof of the Sense of any disputable Passage, than any single Expression can possibly be; as a concurrence of circumstances is better Evidence to ascertain the Truth of a contested Fact, than the Testimony of any single Witness. According to a Maxim in the civil Law, such Evidence cannot lie.

HERE ended my good old Friend. For the remainder therefore of this Paper, in which I propose to make some Remarks on Mr. Monitor's Vindication of his constitutional Principles, I must alone be answerable.

SUFFER

SUFFER me then to ask, what could provoke you to that endless Panegyrick on the Minister? For though I confess you are a perfect Master in all the Arts of Sophistry, and Disputation, yet I really think, you are very far from being an able Panegyrist. But if you were determined to try your Talents, and indulge your Genius in what Tacitus calls the *Adulandi libido*, which I think may be translated, *The Lust of Panegyrick*, how was it possible to forget that modest, and even humble consciousness of his own Worth, which so strongly marks the character of the Minister; I mean, in Shakespear's Language, the Virtue of *bearing his Faculties so meekly*? This Virtue was formerly, in good old Duncan's Days, to be found in Scotland, but has never been heard of since the Union. Mr. L——c
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however can inform you, by his own Experience, to what an heroick Excess the Minister has lately carried this Spirit of Meekness.

BUT his Magnanimity in pronouncing the Apotheosis of Walpole; his Eulogium on the Merits of his *new* Friend, Mr. B* * d, equally unnecessary, as unexpected (for surely Mr. B* * d's Merits were not unknown to the Publick) his laudable Intention of employing his Popularity in securing to us, and our Posterity that inestimable Badge of Liberty, a general Excise; his oratorial Distinctions between *Corn* and *Sugar*; all these were Subjects proper for Panegyrick: but these you have totally forgotten. His Zeal, and Ardour in the Service of his Country, you have indeed abundantly asserted; yet may we not be permitted to ask whether that Zeal hath

hath been employed *according to Knowledge*, and that Ardour guided by Wisdom.

THE D - - - of C - - - had put an End to the War in Germany by a Convention, at least of negative Advantage to this Country. Mr. P - -, with his natural Impetuosity, broke this Convention, and unhappily exchanged a national, American War, for one of vain and ruinous Expence upon the Continent. The Tories, deceived and imposed on, by bold Assertions and Misrepresentations, thought themselves obliged to support Mr. P - - - in executing those Measures they so justly disapproved, because they imagined the Honour of the Nation was engaged for their Execution. From hence the intolerable Expence of maintaining, besides our national Troops, more than fifty-seven thousand Mercenaries in Germany. From

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hence the following enormous Sums :
 Six hundred seventy thousand Pounds to
 the King of Prussia, and yet a larger Sum
 to Hannover, Wolfenbittel, Saxe-Gotha,
 Hesse-Cassel, and Count of Buckeburg.

As a *present Supply*, towards defraying
 the Charges of his Majesty's combined
 Army under the Prince of Ferdinand, five
 hundred thousand Pounds have been al-
 ready granted by Parliament. This Ar-
 ticle is indeed very justly called a *present
 Supply*, for the whole will amount, on a
 moderate computation, from sixteen to
 seventeen hundred thousand Pounds. Yet
 there still remains an Article more extra-
 ordinary in itself, and most alarming in its
 consequences.

To the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel fix-
 ty thousand Pounds, to be paid, as his
 most

most Serene Highness shall think it most convenient, *in order to facilitate the means, by which the most Serene Landgrave may again fix his Residence in his own Dominions, and give fresh Courage to his faithful Subjects, by his Presence, which is so much wished for.*

By this last Article it should seem, that the Generosity of England is to be taxed for the Restoration of all these German Princes, if dispossessed of their Dominions, and thus we may once more purchase the often purchased Electorate of Hanover. But let us add to these exorbitant Sums, the necessary Expence of transporting and maintaining the British Troops in Germany, and without computing the Health or Lives of our Fellow Subjects in its detested Climate, how tremendous will the Sum total appear? The daily Pay of the

British Troops, now under the command of Prince Ferdinand, amounts to six hundred, fifty nine Pounds, nine Shillings and ten Pence; which will amount annually to two hundred, forty thousand, seven hundred and fourteen Pounds, nine Shillings and two Pence. The whole to three Millions, eighty thousand, seven hundred, fourteen Pounds.

But when we add the Expence of transporting these Troops, besides the transporting and maintaining Lord Lindore's and Colonel Parker's Invalides, with the charge of Staff-Officers, Hospitals, Forage, Artillery and Contingencies, how amazing shall we find the Sum total? Without considering, that all this Money must be sent to a Country, *from whose Bourne*, like that of Death in Shakespeare, no British Guinea ever returned,

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is it possible to conceive, that the Minister ever made any calculation of this insupportable Expence? Or is he to be justified in continuing this Expence, against the repeated Remonstrances of his Colleagues, (if indeed he acknowledges any Colleagues in his Ministry) particularly the Chancellor of the Exchequer? What secret Motives he may have for his conduct, he alone can determine. I shall not presume to look into his Heart, or account for his engaging and persisting in these Measures (to a common Eye so strongly marked with Precipitation and Obstinacy) by ill-natured and uncertain conjectures. But surely, Sir, if this mighty Mass of Money had been applied to ruin the Trade, and break the naval Power of France; if it were dispensed, with Oeconomy, in the Protection of our Colonies, and the Vindication of our Rights
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in America, (for which good Purposes alone the War was declared) what Successes might we not, with Reason, have expected? There had not, probably, been at this Moment a single French man in Canada, from whence we might have returned with our whole collected Strength to Europe, and this continental War, if it should appear even then adviseable or necessary.

BUT Oeconomy, and calculations of Expence, are among the meerly merchantile Arts, and consequently beneath the Spirit of our Minister. Expeditions, and Enterprizes, and Projects of Imagination, quickly conceived, and executed with Rapidity, are better suited to his Genius. To encourage him in this great Plan, a certain noble Duke seems placed at the Head of the Treasury, merely to issue out Money

Money to his Order ; the first Lord of Admiralty is most obsequiously ready to fit out Ships and Squadrons, at his great Bidding, without knowing, or presuming to inquire about, their Destination.

SOME of these Projects, Expeditions, Enterprizes must necessarily succeed. Impossible to squander away twelve or fourteen Millions a Year, totally without Effect. From hence, in a great Measure, the Merits of the Minister. But if those Merits be not really infinite, there should be some Bounds to our Gratitude and Applause, though Flattery has none.

THAT Mr. P——— *has endeavoured to deserve well of his Country*, no Man, I verily believe, will deny, although he may not conceive so highly of his Deservings, as Mr. Monitor. But certainly, Sir, you
praise

praise him most injudiciously. You found a very considerable Part of his Merit upon a comparison between him and some of our late Ministers. But supposing him to have more than Walpole's Integrity, and greater Abilities than Pelham, will it follow, that he is a Burleigh, or a Cecil? Of this last Minister, you yourself have asserted, that *He neither weakened the Government, nor impoverished the People by hiring foreign, mercenary Troops.* Vid. Monitor N^o. 8.

IN the same uncommon Strain of reasoning, when my Friend asserts, *That Germany is become the Gulph of our Treasures, and the Grave of our People*; when he gives melancholy Proof of his Assertion in the Numbers of our gallant Countrymen, who have perished in German Hospitals, you tell us, *that Flanders is no longer the Grave*

Grave of the English, and that, no foreign Connections have been able to draw Britain into the ruinous Measures, so many Years pursued in Favour of the House of Austria and the Dutch.

By this desultory kind of reasoning if a Man struck you on the right Cheek, I might gravely affirm, you were neither injured, nor affronted, because he certainly did not strike you on the left.

But the Aid sent on this important Occasion to Germany, differs widely, both in its Kind, and its Object, from our former Connections with the Continent. I confess, I know not, Sir, any other *Kinds* of Aid, but those of Men or Money, and would gladly be better informed. With regard to the Difference of its *Object* between the present, and our former Connections with

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the Continent, we are told, that *hitherto it had been the Practice to enter into a continental War, as Principals; to fight the Battles of our Allies for their Advantage, and at our Expence.* These, I fear, are Distinctions without a Difference. Do we not really pay the whole Expence of this War, and is it not an Absurdity, gross and palpable to common Sense, to call that People Auxiliaries, who pay the whole Expence of a War in all its Parts; such as Britain now pays to the Soldiers and Officers, *Hospitals, Forage, Bread, Bread-Waggons, Train of Artillery, and of Provisions, Wood, Straw, &c. and other extraordinary Expences and Contingencies of his Majesty's combined Army under the Command of Prince Ferdinand?* * What Difference between being Auxiliaries or Principals, if the same Expence of Blood

* * Votes of the H—— of C——s.

and

and Treasure be deemed necessary to support the War ? What possible *Advantage* can this Nation expect from our Successes in Germany, except that of breaking the Power of France, which was always either the real or pretended Motive for our engaging in a continental War ?

BUT if the Minister profusely pours forth the Treasures of the Nation in subsidies to German Princes ; to Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Hesse ; Sax. Gotha, Count of Buckeburg and others, if there be any others, as you say, *of lesser Note* ; if our best-disciplined Regiments must be sent to fight the Battles of Germans, or to die in German Hospitals, what Difference, in the Effects, whether we are engaged in these ruinous and destructive Measures, as Auxiliaries or Principals ? Could we do more, and in Wisdom ought we to do so

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much,

much, although the Quarrel were absolutely our own? Shall we then maintain this whole German War, under the *honorable* Appellation of Auxiliaries to Hanover, and Hesse, and Wolfenbuttel, and those other States of lesser Note?

BUT why were you ashamed to name the Count of Buckeburg? Why sink him among your other States of lesser Note? Sir, it does Honour to the Minister to have been able to find out these *diminutive Powers*, (as you once thought proper to call them) who have so generously fold their Troops to the common Cause of Liberty, and to German Independence. I know not what political Microscope Mr. P - - uses upon these Occasions, but I have pored over the Map of Germany; I have consulted Palairet and Salmon and, I know not how many, other Geographers, but
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the Place, or Name, or Titles of this Count are no where to be found. No matter ; his *Alliance* with this Country will soon make him considerable. However, I am credibly informed, that he has really a Regiment of Foot, and, some say, a Troop of Horse. You will permit us therefore to hope that the Minister hath engaged this powerful Prince to guarantee his Majesty's British, as well as German, Dominions.

BUT under what soever Title we have the Honour of being connected with these Princes and Potentates, I never will consent to call them Allies of Great Britain. Alliance must suppose a certain Degree of Equality, with a Probability of mutual Succours and Assistance. But surely, Sir, you will not prostitute the Dignity of Great Britain to an Acknowledgment

ment of such an Equality, or expose the Lives and Property of your Fellow-Subjects by ruinous Engagements *with those diminutive Powers, from whom, to use your own Expression, it would be ridiculous, to expect any assistance.* Vid. Monitor. N. 24. *As well might we call the Servants, to whom we pay Wages, our Friends, as those Powers to whom we pay Subsidies, our Allies: they will all quit their old Masters, and run to new, for a new interest, and more Wages. Have they not always done so? does not all History tell us they have? the little German Prince, more particularly have for ever shifted sides, and changed their Masters, what reason is there to think, they will not do so now, and for ever do so?* The Reader may be surpris'd, but these are really the Words of Mr. Monitor, No. 18. and here I recommend them to his future Reflexions.

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BUT *his Majesty's Honour* is engaged, and his *ever faithful* Commons have promised to support his Engagements with their Lives and Fortunes. These Promises I find, are to be literally understood and fullfilled. But it were impious not to break the Promise, that tends to Self-Ruin and Destruction. None but Knaves profess their Resolution to suffer Martyrdom, and none but Idiots are Martyrs to any human Engagement. Thus with regard to Princes; they certainly owe to the People, whom they govern, a Duty of Protection and Security superiour to all possible Obligations, or Promises to any foreign State.

THESE Sentiments, I doubt not, will be made the Subject of much sorrowful Declamation; of many a pious Reflexion upon the Corruption and Iniquity of the
Times;

Times; not without some Scriptural Proof (methinks, a most unholy Use of Scripture) to damn the supposed Writer. Mr. Monitor never makes Allowance for Weakness of Understanding, but, in his Penetration, goes directly to the Malignity of the Heart for every difference of Opinion, from whatever he thinks reasonable. However, these Sentiments are founded in all Wisdom, Political, Moral and Religious; not acknowledged indeed, but practised in all Nations, through all Ages.

Thus stand all the Arguments, that support these destructive Measures, and upon the Conviction they carry with them, they set up an interest distinct from that of Great Britain in this great and national War; shift the Scene and the Object of it to distant and foreign Climes, and waste all our Blood and treasures, not in our own Defence and Safety, or the Protection
of

of our Colonies; but, like the Knight of la Mancha, to secure, even from chimerical Danger, Germany against Germans.

Vid. Monitor. N°. 18.

I SHALL now recapitulate the general Points of Debate between us, and to avoid being misunderstood, or, if possible, misrepresented, I shall repeat them in your own Words in very punctual Quotation.

Every War carried on by Britain on the Continent tends to her Impoverishment. It is as natural for Britain to trust in her Fleets, as a Bull in his Horns, or a Lion in his Paws. I hope better things from the Guardians of our Wealth, Glory and Liberties, than to suppose they are entering into any such shameful Agreements with foreign Princes, whose assistance we do not want, and who cannot assist us, if we did.

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A Measure contrary to common Prudence, considering our Circumstances; contrary to the general Rules of Policy, considering us as an Island; contrary to our Interest, considered as a Maritime Power; contrary to our Interest, considered as a Trading Nation; contrary to our Interest, considered as a Nation deeply indebted, and may be destructive of the Liberties of a free People.

The Sea is our acknowledged Element for Interest, Strength and Glory: and if there is an apparent Necessity to attack France, we must do it by Sea: ruin her Navigation, which will stop her Trade and the Sources of her Finances, without which she will not be able to keep up an Army by Land. To neglect this, and to dare the French on the Continent, is a Contempt of the Experience of past times, and the common Sense of the Present. Let the Republic German Prin-
ces,

ces, for they are but one People, unite for their common Safety. They will most certainly do so, if we do not officiously and ridiculously take off their Attention to their greatest Interest.

Vid. Monitor. N°. 13.

Now follows the very Triumph of Rhetorick. Look at our Exports: examine the Extent of our Trade to Germany. Should the Rhine, the Elb, the Weser, the Oder, and the whole Navigation of Germany be reduced under the Power of France, our Manufactures and Merchandise; our Colonies and Settlements would feel their loss severely. France could furnish them with Cloths of all sorts, with Leather, Silks Hard-Ware, Bever, Rum, Sugar, Tobacco, and every Article, that the British Merchant supplies the Germans with from distant Parts of the Globe.

I KNOW

I KNOW, Sir, how impatient you, and your new Friends are of Raillery and Ridicule. They seem to treat your Dignity a little too familiarly, and I confess, there is generally some Degree of Contempt in every Kind of Laughter, except that of being tickled. But really, Sir, it is *beyond all Power of Face*, to refrain from laughing at these Rivers of Trade; and seriously to answer this declaiming Paragraph, were an Insult to all Understanding. In this unhappy Dilemma between Falshood and Nonsense, Mr. Monitor will generously give us his Assistance, and he himself answer himself. *The Balance of Trade is greatly against us, in all the Ports of Germany; we take most of their Commodities, they but few of ours. Where would be the mighty loss of giving up a Trade, by which we are losers already?*

Vid. Monitor. N°. 18.

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THE last Argument in Favour of this continental War, urges the necessity of preventing France and Austria *from extinguishing the Protestant Religion*. The Monitor who *prays his Piple*, so like a Parson, in mottoes for his Papers, may now perhaps be a zealous Protestant. But there were Times, some three or four long Years ago, when he was of another Opinion, that *Religion has often been made a Stalking Horse; often the Pretence, but never was the Cause either of Peace or War*. Vid. Monitor. N. 18.

SUCH were the Sentiments, perhaps, I should rather say the political Maxims, upon which your Paper was originally founded; upon which the Tories erected the Standard of Opposition, and from which they have so notoriously deserted. Will your Modesty attempt to reconcile the
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the *seeming* Contradictions between these Maxims and their present Germanized Conduct? Be not discouraged, Sir. Supported by the customary Arts of Disputation; by the *Strong* evidence of Assertions; by loud Professions of Zeal for *your* Country, and *a gaudy deal of Courtesy* to the Minister; by all these Arts (and you have my sincere Consent to employ them all, with your best Skill and Cunning) you may give us another vindication of your constitutional Principles. But really, Sir, the Publick is very little Interested in the Profession of your Zeal for their Service, or the Motives, that induced you to honour yourself with the Style and Title of THE BRITISH MONITOR. They are only concerned to inquire, whether the Facts, which you assert, are true, and your Conclusions from them fairly and logically deduced. Your Intentions and Integrity are of as little

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Importance to your Readers, as your Dress, your Complexion or Profession. But would you really serve them, instead of another swollen Panegyrick on the Minister, advise him to give up some of his Expeditions, Enterprizes, Projects, that he may execute the rest with Success: advise him to listen to the Remonstrances of his Collegues, and not precipitately start, at once, from the half-formed Conceptions of an overheated Imagination to the Hurry of Execution: advise him to raise the publick Credit, now languishing under this enormous Subscription; to fill an exhausted Treasury (in which we might almost say, there is not at this moment a single Guinea) by wise and unoppressive Schemes, not by reviving a detested, abjured Excise, the Blast of Liberty and Commerce: advise him to recall our national Troops from amongst these Germans; to *them* an ineffectual Succour to *us* a consuming Expence.

You find, Sir, *the dazzling Splendour reflected on his Character*, by the sordid Language

guage of Flattery, hath not rendered him unapproachable. The favourable reception my Friend's Letter met with from the Publick, and the Sale of two large Impressions in a few Days, should convince even this Flatterer, that the Nation is returning from the wanderings of an unaccountable Passion for this Minister, to the sober Dictates of good Sense and Reason. May our People therefore, re-assume their yet undisputed Right of judging in all publick Measures, and may their final Determination secure to them the great, inestimable Blessings of our established Religion, and the perpetual Succession to the Crown of these Realms in his Majesty's illustrious House, with every other Benefit of the Constitution. May they determine, uninfluenced by Passion or Prejudice, according to their true Interest, and may the Liberty, Glory and Prosperity of Britain be immortal.

24 MAY 66
I am, Sir, &c.

